1322

Second Edition.

A LETTER

FROM

BEN. BOUSFIELD, Esq.

TO THE

CITIZENS OF CORK.

If, ye Powers divine!
Ye mark the movements of this nether World
And bring them to account, crush, crush these Vipers,
Who singled out by the Community,
To guard their rights, shall for a grasp of ore,
Or paltry Office, sell 'em to the Foe.

TRAGEDY OF MAHOMET.

CORK:

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1799.

Fol. 9

BRITISH MUSEUM

GENTLEMEN,

PRECARIOUS health, accelerating years, and ineffectual efforts in the public ſervice, had fixed my determination for retirement, and my reſolution for never publickly engaging in political diſcuſſion. However two events lately have happened, equally unexpected as they are important---the one, a Britiſh miniſter daring enough to call on the Iriſh Parliament to ſurrender their legiſlative Independence---the other, that Parliament having virtue and ſpirit ſufficient to repel the imperious demand of the dictator. In this ſituation, I found it impoſſible to remain an unconcerned ſpectator. Every thing dear in conſtitution, and valuable in publick character, required to be upheld; on ſuch an occaſion, the feebleſt efforts of the humbleſt individual might be uſeful.

It is neceſſary to bring to recollection a meeting of Freemen lately held at the City Court-Houſe. Their Reſolutions and Addreſs to the Throne, on the ſubject of the intended Union, have been publiſhed in almoſt every paper, Engliſh as well as Iriſh. It appears as if the miniſter, with a malignant kind of exultation, expoſed them as ſpecimens of our wiſdom and patriotiſm, and as trophies of his victories and triumphs. Individuals, alſo, in our Parliament, ſuppoſing them to expreſs the general ſenſe, have thrown out the imputation of Bæotian ſtupidity, and Bæotian perfidy againſt this City, which, as it is the firſt in Trade, ought to be the firſt in Independence.

Having heard by accident of that Meeting, as it was not advertiſed in the public papers, I attended it, accompanied by Mr. Beamish, a gentleman, whoſe integrity, public ſpirit, and extenſive commercial dealings render him truly reſpectable. We endeavoured to diſſuade them from an act of ſuch imprudence and temerity. We appealed to their candor and good ſenſe, and forewarned

forewarnened them of the obloquy and diſgrace, in which the whole City would be involved by promulgating opinions conceived in error, founded in ignorance, degradatory of national character, and ruinous in their political conſequences. But all expoſtulation was fruitleſs, admonition of no avail, and argument ineffectual. We were left in a ſmall minority, as has been often my fate, and had no other conſolation, but the conſciouſneſs of having done our duty.

One would immagine by the impatient anxiety of that Meeting, that it was rather compoſed of a number of impaſſioned lovers panting for the ſiſternal embrace, than an aſſemblage of grave Citizens, met for the purpoſe of deliberating on a queſtion of the utmoſt importance. Bolder than the miniſter, who in the ſpeech to Parliament, only ſlightly glanced at the ſubject of an Union, they incorporated it in their Reſolutions and Addreſs; anticipated his deſigns, and tranſcended his darings. It is to be obſerved, that though there were ſome commercial men, who attended, yet not one

commercial

commercial argument was adduced in favour of the Reſolutions. A myſterious ſilence prevailed, as often the mantle of ignorance as of wisdom; but candor muſt admit, that thoſe gentlemen were well verſed in political arithmetic, and on the doctrine of numbers the firm of the company relied with confidence.

To one, who was not acquainted with the patriotiſm and independent ſpirit ſo prevalent in this City, that Meeting would have appeared more like a little junto of men met to promote ſome favourite job of their reſpective patrons, than an aſſemblage of FREEMEN to convey their opinions on a great national and imperial queſtion. Without meaning the ſmalleſt diſreſpect to any individual, it becomes neceſſary to mention, that the Meeting was chiefly compoſed of Contractors for Proviſions, for Army Cloathing, for Gun-powder, nay, Contractors for the Corporation, and a large portion of the gentlemen of the Revenue. They were parcels of different parties arranged under one common banner, a ſort of tricoloured flag, in which the orange, the green, and the

blue

blue were happily blended Though their principles were unqueſtionably loyal, yet their meaſures, imperceptible to themſelves, partook of the revolutionary hue-----the degradation of the nobility, and extinction of the national legiſlature, were thoſe that probably would have led to revolution. Then would his Majeſty's throne totter beneath his feet; his ſceptre quiver in his hand; his diadem tremble on his head, and the conſtitution be diſſolved.

I muſt remark, that if theſe gentlemen, who attended at the Manſion-Houſe to counſel the council for calling a meeting, were ſeriouſly deſirous to collect the public opinion on the intended Union, they would not, ſagacious as they are, have recommended ſo circumſcribed a requiſition, which excluded all Freeholders and opulent Houſeholders, equally, if not more intereſted than themſelves; a call of ſuch little publicity too, could only have been intended for a ſelect party. It is not ſuppoſed, that there were an hundred Freemen preſent at that meeting; and though they were ſufficiently

numerous

numerous to ſubject the City to obloquy, yet, they ſurely were not adequate to expreſs its ſenſe.

It appeared, therefore to me, and to many others, indiſpenſibly neceſſary to endeavour te reſcue the character of this City from imputation and diſgrace. But, it was a duty of a ſuperior nature to thank thoſe illuſtrious patriots, who ſo lately and ſucceſsfully vindicated the Independence of this realm; and as detraction and miſrepreſentation are too much the faſhion of the day, we judged it would be right to reiterate our loyalty to our King, and our attachment to the ſiſter-kingdom. There not being any probability of the magiſtrates complying with our wiſhes, had we addreſſed them to call a meeting, we ſent an advertiſement to the papers; an invitation as comprehenſive as the importance of the ſubject demanded. We did not, tis true, annex our names to that advertiſement for convening our fellow-citizens; becauſe, we were not vain or arrogant enough to ſuppoſe, that they would have added any impulſe to the ſenſe of duty; and becauſe,

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we thought, the purpoſes were of ſo laudable and ſo propellent a nature, that they would better reſt on their own intrinſic merit, than on the adventitious aid of names, even far more reſpectable than ours. It was meaſures we expected the opulent and independant inhabitants of this city, would have chiefly conſidered. To names, ſince I have had any knowledge of this city or county, public attention has been too much directed. If a few of thoſe, vulgarly called great men, even hint their approbation of any public meaſure, it is ſufficient to raiſe an hoſt of advocates; not from the dictates of conſcience---not from the deciſions of judgment, as time is not allowed for their operation, but from an habitual ſervility of manners; the immediate impulſe of groveling ſelf-intereſt, and an impatient deſire to propitiate the favors of thoſe, who ſmile but to betray; who promiſe but to deceive. If the magiſtrates think, that we were deterred from meeting by their menace, they are miſtaken. We know the law, and reſpect it; we revere the conſtitution, and will defend it; we are intereſted in the peace of the country, and will endeavour

to preſerve it; we have a ſtake of property and character, and will maintain them. We ſmile at this novel zeal in magiſtrates to ſuppreſs effuſions of loyalty, attachment to the ſiſter-kingdom, and gratitude to the legiſlature; a zeal, however, that will retard the oblivion, which probably would have kindly enveloped their deſcent from official ſtation.

I conceive that we are not only called on to thank thoſe illuſtrious Patriots, who defended the conſtitution, but to cheer them in their progreſs, and to aid them in their ſtruggles. They ſhould not only be convinced of our perfect coincidence of opinion, but that we make common cauſe with them; and if the conſtitution is to be annihilated, we muſt be annihilated with it.

But, thank Heaven! the powers of Parliament are for preſervation, not for deſtruction. I laugh at the bigoted idea of its *omnipotence*; in doing ſo, I maintain a doctrine, which inſtead of placing eternal daggers in the hands of aſſaſſins to plunge into the vitals of the conſtitution, in my opinion,

nion, ſupplies every honeſt man with a ſhield to guard that conſtitution againſt the open or ſecret attacks of treachery, fraud, or uſurpation. Fortunately the 111 Patriots have wielded that ſhield to advantage. To the friends of the conſtitution, I would recommend---" to ſpeak daggers, but to uſe none." If the omnipotence of Parliament is to be received in all the latitude of a bigot's creed; if a magic force dwells in its enactions; if its will can legalize uſurpation, and its words pervert the eſſence of right, the diſpute is at an end; reaſon may expoſtulate, but ſhe muſt acquieſce; happy, however, the truth is otherwiſe. There are conſtitutional as well as natural impoſſibilities; there are ſome things which without the ſubverſion of the frame cannot take place in the phyſical or political world. The legiſlature cannot transfer the power of making laws to any other hands, for it being but a delegated power from the people, they cannot paſs it over to others; these are the words of the immortal Locke, the moſt profound inquirer and reaſoner on government---the ſtrongeſt and wiſeſt advocate for the Britiſh conſtitution. This is a

ſacred principle, which neither ambition, nor injuſtice can eraſe. Individual members of Parliament may, indeed, abdicate their repreſentation; but the right remains with the people, and can only be ſurrendered by them. They may ratify their own infamy, but cannot ratify the ſlavery of us, much leſs of poſterity, There are duties to be performed by the legiſlature; truſts to be fulfilled; principles to be adhered to; and limits that cannot be tranſcended, which render the idea of the omnipotence of Parliament ridiculous and futile. It is impious to aſcribe omnipotence to any human inſtitution; but if it belongs to men, it muſt be aſcribed to the people, from whom all political power originates; for whoſe ſakes government is inſtituted, and theirs then muſt be the only omnipotence. As to parliament, it has its own gravitation; it cannot fly from its proper ſphere; the conſtitution is the center round which it revolves, and to the ſame orbit it muſt eternally be confined. If any ſtatute wounds the conſtitution, the conſtitution cancels its force; this was exemplified in the determination of the great Lord Hobart, in the caſe

caſe of the city of London claiming under a ſtatute. If the conſtitution had not this internal balm to heal its own wounds, it would ſoon decay. This doctrine is not viſionary; it is the key-ſtone that ſupports the arch of freedom; if that key-ſtone be removed, the arch would ſoon ſink into a vault, in which Liberty and Parliament would lie entombed together.

But waving the abſtract queſtion of right, let us conſider what the miniſter ſo lately called on Parliament to do---To break thro' the ſolemn compact of 82, wherein it was declared and maintained that no power on earth had a right to bind Ireland, ſave the King, Lords and Commons of this realm; a principle ſolemnly acceded to, and recogniſed by the Britiſh legiſlature, and which our Parliament and People pledged life and fortune to ſupport. Never can I reflect on that period without pious gratitude and enthuſiaſtic zeal. It was then aſſociation fixed her ſtandard in the land; beneath her banners liberty repoſed; and above the day-ſtar of freedom began to dawn; it ſoon became vertical, and pointed to the peoples' rights;

rights; England ſealed theſe rights, and the day-ſtar can never fade. As well may the Miniſter attempt to revoke Magna Charta; to repeal the Bill of Rights, or to remove the intervening ocean, as to deſtroy that ſettlement, while there remains an atom of public ſpirit, of honor, or of virtue in this country.

But let us mark the confidence in aſſertion of the miniſter; in the Britiſh parliament, he ſaid in a late ſpeech, that the ſettlement of 82 was not final, and recited a reſolution at that period, which he inſiſted bore him out. If I recollect right, and I am perſuaded, I am not miſtaken, that reſolution merely was directed towards a commercial adjuſtment between the two countries, and not with the leaſt reference to the conſtitutional queſtion, which was then finally ſettled. This I will prove from Mr. Pitt's own words---on the 24th of July, 1785, on preſenting to the Britiſh parliament the *altered* propoſitions, he moved an addreſs to the King, in which is as fully acknoweldged and recogniſed the irrevocable conſtitutional adjuſtment of 82, as words

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can expreſs; having by accident that addreſs, I ſhall quote the words. In the ſixth paragraph, alluding to the points that were to be ſettled, it is ſaid: "They can only "be carried into effect by laws to be paſſed "in the Parliament of Ireland, which is "alone competent to bind your Majeſty's "ſubjects in that kingdom, and *whoſe le-* "*giſlative rights we ſhall ever hold as ſacred* "*as our own.*" Thus this Atlas of the ſtate is detected in unfounded aſſertion, and convicted of miſrepreſentation by his own teſtimony.---Preſumptuous Miniſter! infatuated Engliſhmen! can you not perceive that whatever cloud overſhadows Ireland, as it encreaſes muſt extend; in as deep a darkneſs would Britain be ſoon wrapped, for the horizons of both countries are the ſame. Their conſtitutions grow out of the ſame pyramid; their baſe is laid in the peoples' conſent; by their conſent laws become available and not otherwiſe; this is the paramount privilege of Liberty: ſhould it be queſtioned, Sidney would bleed again; the ſhade of Ruſſel riſe reſtleſs from the grave, and the ſpirit of Hampden burſt the barriers of the tomb!

If

If Ireland were baſe enough to ſubmit to the intended Union, I ſhould hope England would reject it, as ſhe would plainly perceive, that ſuch an innovation would endanger her own conſtitution. Engliſhmen muſt feel, that whatever wounded us, would ultimately wound them; as they muſt diſcover in our conſtitution the features of their own; the likeneſs would unnerve the uplifted arm, and repel the meditated blow; the unnatural aſſaſſination would be ſaved; its horrors would prevent the deed.

The miniſter in the fullneſs of his kindneſs, propoſes by this clandeſtine marriage, which the laws of God and man forbid,--- to tranquilize the country. For that purpoſe, he ſeizes the preſent as the propitious moment, when the nation is agitated by reſentments, prejudices, and fears. Looking back at the recent tranſactions in this kingdom, memorable for the violations of humanity, juſtice, law, and conſtitution, the good people of this country are appalled; feeling horror at the recollection of the paſt, and diſmay at the probable incertitude of the

the future; bowed down with accumulated and accumulating misfortunes, the miniſter ſuppoſes that to ſubject them to the yoke, (or as he, in more courtly language expreſſes it) to *tranquilize* them, would be an eaſy taſk. But he will find, though under the preſſure of national calamities, that the energy of the people is not totally relaxed. ---That the love of liberty is an inherent paſſion in the breaſts of Iriſhmen, which neither art, nor fraud, nor force, nor misfortunes can totally eradicate---that public virtue in this country, is not a phantom, or patriotiſm an illuſive name. This tranquilizing meaſure of an Union, would produce diſunion; it would aggravate popular diſcontent, encreaſe the fermentation of the public mind; excite new jealouſies; and may fan afreſh the ſleeping embers of rebellion. I conjure the miniſter to conſider, that on the ſame ſtring hang the rights of Ireland as thoſe of England; touched rudely, that ſtring would ſtrike a diſcord; touched ſkilfully, it will vibrate uniſons for ever.

In purſuing this frantic meaſure, reaſon bewildered almoſt recoils, and tired inveſ-

tigation nearly drops the clue. What are its farther objects?---To degrade the nobility and annihilate our Parliament; to reduce this country from the rank of an Independent nation to a province; to make us participate in the enormous debt of Great-Britain, conſequently in all her taxes, internal as well as external; to add conſiderably to our abſentees, and with them to take from this country an annual income nearly of a Million, heretofore expended at home; and to withdraw from it their influence in preſerving peace and good order---their encouragement to labour and induſtry---their example and their exertions in improving and beautifying the country by agriculture, buildings, and plantations. The miniſter's Iriſh Union logic goes to eſtabliſh this ſoleciſm: that a part, and not a fifth-part, would be equal to the whole; that in proportion as the ſeat of legiſlature ſhould be removed from the country to be governed by its laws; in proportion as the repreſentatives of the People ſhould be removed from the inſpection and controul of their conſtituents, the better would that country be governed, and the more faithfully executed would be the truſt.

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In order to tranquilize the Catholic, and to win the conſent of the Proteſtant to this meaſure, the inducements, the miniſter holds out, are truly faſcinating and juſt. He proclaims, that there will be an eternal barrier againſt the removal of the diſqualifications, to which the Catholics are at preſent ſubjected; this to the Aſcendency Man is doubtleſs matter of great conſolation, even for the loſs of Freedom; at the certainty of the excluſive enjoyment of the loaves and fiſhes, his palled apetite reſumes its tone; he devours in expectation the future harveſts of his honeſt labor. The Catholic is addreſſed on this occaſion with equal liberality and juſtice; he is called on to aid in annihilating the rights of the Proteſtants, who at preſent exclude him from certain great truſts and offices of ſtate: thus ſweet revenge will be gratified; thus degradation will produce one common level; thus diſcord may be converted into amity; thoſe that were hoſtile while in proſperity, may be friendly in adverſity: the Proteſtant and Catholic becoming mutual ſlaves may hug their chains together.

As the miniſter has not given to the public the detail of the commercial advantages intended for this country, my obſervations on that ſubject muſt be limited. We know, however, that he has nothing to give but the Channel trade; this ought long ſince have been conceded on the point of juſtice, as well as honor; three different miniſters in this country having promiſed it, and the nation having paid in advance for it £140,000 in new taxes. The terms on which this Channel trade ſhould be granted, muſt decide its good or bad conſequences. Equality of duties, in many caſes, would not be equality of trade; but in moſt, would be ſubverſion and deſtruction to our infant manufactures, and to our various capitals employed in internal trade: the ſuperior capitals, ſkill, aſſortments, and ſupply of England juſtify this deduction. But an analogy is univerſally attempted to be drawn between Scotland and Ireland on this ſubject. Waving the conſideration of continental connection, ſoil, climate, harbours, and growing improvements of the world, &c. it is to the acquirement of a tolerable free conſtitution, that the progreſſive proſperity

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of Scotland is chiefly to be attributed. Before the Union, ſhe had no conſtitution. The feudal ſyſtem prevailed; her kings were deſpotic; her nobles were ſlaves and tyrants; and the people groaned under the rigorous domination of both. It was to the adoption of that conſtitution, more liberal than her own, that Scotland is indebted for her extenſion in commerce, her eſtabliſhment of manufactures, refinement in manners, and cultivation of letters and ſcience. We are poſſeſſed of that conſtitution; we won it by our ſpirit, and I truſt, we will preſerve it by our virtue. Ireland and England are already combined by one common tie; to one ſovereign their allegiance is due; their friends and their foes are reciprocally the ſame. They have one king---one charter, and one conſtitution. If the madneſs of miniſters does not drive the people to deſperation, the connection will be inviolable---the friendſhip unalterable, and the intereſt inſeparable: that has long been my ardent wiſh.

It is ſaid by the advocates of this meaſure, that Engliſh capitals would flow into this country;

country; I aſk what has prevented them from coming hither for theſe 17 years paſt, when there was an ample field for ſpeculation, and our own capitals have been multiplying in an extraordinary ratio, and when perfect ſecurity of property prevailed, nor any diſturbance of magnitude, until the French fleet appeared in Bantry Bay. This is one of the deluſive phantoms, which the miniſter preſents to our graſp, while he makes his efforts to wreſt from us the ſolid, and incalculable advantage of conſtitutional Independance. At no period have wealthy Engliſhmen been induced to migrate from their country through motives of local advantage; their ſpirit of commerce, and ſkill in navigation, have always excited them to explore the moſt diſtant ſeas and regions, in purſuit of traffic and of riches; but, it is the great object of an Engliſhman to concenter his wealth in his own country; there to ſit down and enjoy the fruits of his labor and induſtry. He is like the eagle, who never loſes ſight of the neſt, where ſhe foſters her young. Under the unfortunate reign of the Stuarts, the violence of party and political diſputes raiſed a fervor of emigration;

gration; the love of liberty and the abhorrence of deſpotiſm, forced Engliſhmen from their country at that period, to ſeek freedom and ſecurity beyond the Atlantic. It is poſſible that the ſame cauſes will produce the ſame effects, and an additional motive will be the preſſure of taxation; but it would not be to provincial Ireland, that men, who once felt Engliſh liberty, would direct their attention. No, when once we ſurrendered our conſtitution, we ſhould fall beneath contempt; we ſhould be wiped out of the map of nations; we ſhould be forgotten; but if ever recollection ſhould point to Ireland, it would be only to record her infamy.

Let us however not deſpair. This country is not loſt. If Ireland be part of the empire, and if the conſtitution may be ſubverted as to that part, it may be ſubverted as to the whole. This intended Union would lead to that ſubverſion; therefore the Parliament and People of England ought to be as reluctant as our own. Should imprudence give the word, juſtice would recall the dangerous ſound; the voice of reaſon would

arreſt

arreſt its flight; the law of nations would interpose, and its language would not be deſpiſed; but we ſhould cheriſh that ſpirit in ourſelves, which heretofore has been the inſtrument of our deliverance. We ſhould be vigilant, and not ſlumber on our poſts; what can't be carried by force, may be attempted by ſap. Let us convince the world, that patriotiſm is not an empty name, but an invigorating principle, which warms and animates, gives firm and manly fortitude, and ſupplies ſtrength and vigor, that will neither yield to force, nor ſink under corruption. Let us ſhew, that Parliament and the People are united. Forgetting all party diſſentions; ſuppreſſing thoſe religious feuds, that are excited only to render us an eaſy conqueſt; baniſhing from our view the mean and illuſive proſpect of local advantage, let us, my fellow-citizens, with one voice declare, that we regard our ſiſter-kingdom, and will never ſever from her---that we love our King, and will rally round him---that we adore Freedom, and will relinquiſh it but with our lives.!!

Lakelands,
Feb. 9, 1799.

Benj. Bousfield.

P. S.——Since ſending this Letter to preſs, I have ſeen Mr. Pitt's ſpeech on the 31st of January, introductory of the preliminaries, which were to be the baſis of the intended Union. A ſpeech of the moſt ſplendid impoſition; a diſplay of the moſt beautiful arrangement of language, artfully deſigned to delude, to dupe, and to menace. A few of the material points I ſhall ſtate, ſtripped of their reſplendent ornaments, and obſerve ſhortly on them.

Mr. Pitt ſays, that "the connection between the "two countries has been attacked by foreign ene-"mies and domeſtic traitors." It is true; but what has expoſed Ireland to theſe calamities? It is the war in which that miniſter has involved the empire, which he is now waging againſt arithmetic, and without any definite object; it is his own mal-adminiſtration of this country, particularly in the inſtance of the recall of Lord Fitzwilliam, when a fair proſpect opened of conciliating the affections of the people, and thereby conſolidating the intereſt of the empire.

Mr. Pitt ſuppoſes a poſſible caſe, and gives it as one of his reaſons for an Union, that the two countries retaining their mutual independence, (but totally omitting the connection by the ſame executive, whoſe ſole prerogative is the power of declaring war and peace) may differ on the ſubject. No difference has as yet ariſen; Ireland, though never an aggreſſor, has followed England with ſpirit and with zeal on all ſuch occaſions; and arguing from the American and the preſent wars, the two moſt deſtructive that ever happened, Great-Britain cannot really have any cauſe for ſuch apprehenſion.

Mr. Pitt ſtates the Regency Buſineſs as a ſolitary caſe of difference (if it may be called ſo) between Great-Britain and Ireland on an imperial queſtion. There was no difference as to the individual, but it was merely as to the manner in which the Regent ſhould hold his power. In England, Mr. Pitt took care he ſhould be ſo manacled, as not to be able to move without his permiſſion. In Ireland, he would have been a free-agent, and inveſted for the time being, with all thoſe powers with which, whenever he ſhould come to the inheritance of the Throne, he would have been poſſeſſed. Which nation acted with more wiſdom and liberality, let public opinion decide.

When we hear of friends vauntingly enumerating the favors and obligations conferred on others, we are apt to ſuſpect the ſincerity, the generous feeling, and

and liberality of ſuch boaſters; the favors become diminiſhed in proportion as they are trumpeted out by the donors. I ſhould grieve to hear, that an account of mutual ſervices and aſſiſtance, were to be opened or attempted to be balanced between two ſiſter-kingdoms; becauſe I am of opinion, that nothing could more powerfully tend to wound the feelings of both, and to occaſion a diſſolution of that friendſhip, which, I truſt, in ſpite of the miniſter, will be inviolable. But as he has reminded us of the money and troops lent to us on the preſent conteſt, let me call to recollection the aſſiſtance we have always rendered to Great-Britain, to man their navy, and to recruit their armies. In the American war, when the combined fleets rode triumphant in the channel, we gave them all our troops, and defended ourſelves. In the preſent war we have given to England 200,000 of our people; our eſtabliſhment for which we pay, is 16000 troops of the line, of which, during the firſt three years of the war, we had not 4000, and even now, have not more than 8000.

But as to the defence of this country ſo much dwelt on, would not Great-Britain, from motives of policy, feel it her duty to defend the moſt inſignificant parts of the empire? the Iſles of Man, Jerſey or Guernſey, are objects of her care, and the loſs of either of them would be felt; but if Ireland, the great limb of the State, were to be lopped off, the trunk

would ſoon bleed to death. Who that witneſſed the defenceleſs ſtate of this country, when the French Fleet appeared in Bantry-Bay, that does not feel diſmay and indignation? Where then was Britiſh protection?—Where then was the force ſtipulated and paid for?—We have it is true at preſent, a ſtrong army for protection; I hope, it will never be directed to any other purpoſes. Should this meaſure of an Union be ever carried, one of its great objects would be to make this country a vaſt depot of troops, who, doubtleſs would tend to civilize the manners of the people; particularly, ſhould there be any German regiments among them. But while we ſpeak of protection, we ſhould not forget how much is due to the vigilance, ſpirit, and gallantry of the fleet ſtationed on this coaſt.—Every man, but particularly the commercial intereſt, muſt gratefully acknowledge their ſervices, and rejoice at their good fortune.

As to Mr. Pitt's profeſſions and ſincerity towards the Catholics; in the 4th article of the preliminaries, it is ſtated, that "all members of either Houſe of "the united Parliament ſhall take the ſame oaths, "and make the ſame declarations, *as are by Law* "*required to be taken, ſubſcribed, and made by the* "*members of the parliaments of Gt. Britain & Ireland.*" This is the ETERNAL Bar againſt the removal of Catholic diſqualifications; and yet the miniſter, the firm and inexorable opponent of the repeal of the

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Teſt-Laws in England, tells them, that hereafter, in the united Parliament they might find a mitigation of ſome of the moſt GOADING and oppreſſive of their preſent cauſes of complaint; but how ſoon or *how late*, it may be proper to diſcuſs the nature and propriety of thoſe conceſſions, muſt depend upon two circumſtances:—firſt, when the conduct of the Catholics ſhall be ſuch, as to make it ſafe for the government to admit them to the participation of the privileges granted to thoſe of the eſtabliſhed religion, and when the temper of the times ſhall be favorable to ſuch a meaſure!! *A fundamental article againſt that participation* and the ſuppoſition of the miniſter, how ſoon or how LATE, &c. is the amulet which he would throw round the Catholics' necks, to win them to the Union!—this is a political juggle, which muſt have a ſalutary effect in tranquilizing the country.

Mr. Pitt maintains that Ireland is indebted not to that INDEPENDENT Legiſlature, on which her proſperity is ſaid to depend; but to the Britiſh parliament for her commercial freedom. Waving thoſe natural rights, and that advantageous ſituation for commerce with the world, which Providence has ſo liberally beſtowed on this country, and conſidering only the preſſures which for a ſeries of 500 years, had been impoſed on her by the domineering and monopolizing policy of Gt. Brit. his poſition is certainly well founded. For the hiſtory

of

of theſe degradatory commercial reſtraints, I would recommend a publication of deep reſearch and accurate ſtatement, by the late Right Honorable J. H. Hutchinſon. It was even within my recollection, conſidered by a Britiſh miniſter, as a great *boon from that Parliament to permit us to raiſe Tobacco in this kingdom!!* But, perhaps, Mr. Pitt alludes to the direct trade to the Britiſh colonies, which may be more properly called a purchaſe by us, than a gift from them; for that trade, we eſtabliſhed a perfect monopoly in our markets, with regard to the produce of the Britiſh colonies:—we ſhut ourſelves out completely of all colonial goods from the reſt of the world. As to our Linens, paſſing free into the Engliſh market, of which we are now menaced to be deprived of, I muſt remark, that on the ſuppreſſion of the Woollen manufacture, in which we had made ſufficient progreſs to alarm the jealouſy of England, it was ſolemnly compacted at that period, the reign of William the 3^{d}, that our Linens ſhould be ever received, duty free, into England; and as to the bounty given on the re-exportation from thence, it operates to give her all the advantage of the carrying Trade.

Mr. Pitt in calculating the amount of the manufactures, which Great-Britain in her LIBERALITY takes from this kingdom, artfully includes proviſions, and thus ſwells up the account. If, ſhe were not to take them from us, what would feed her navy, garriſons,

garriſons, colonies and ſettlements? From whence would even her own market be ſupplied with Butter? The ſame queſtion may be aſked as to our Linens, the only article of Iriſh manufacture admitted into Britiſh ports, without a duty almoſt amounting to prohibition. From what part of Europe could ſhe get at preſent her ſupply, particularly of the finer ſorts of Linen? But away with recrimination, it cannot tend to good, but may to bad purpoſes; Mr. Pitt has provoked it, and is therefore anſwerable for the conſequences.

At the relief of this country from Tythes, Mr. Pitt glances in his ſpeech, tho' not in the preliminary reſolutions; and holds it out as a lure to induce the adoption of his favorite meaſure. I aſk is not our Parliament competent, and beſt ſuited from its local knowledge, to effect that deſirable object; and if the miniſter really means to conciliate and tranquillize, ought he not be anxious to give them all the merit of ſo ſalutary a meaſure? It is to be hoped, that they will ſoon take it into conſideration, and enact a commutation of Tythes on equitable principles, equally ſatisfactory to the Clergy as to the Laity. On the whole, I conceive that Mr. Pitt's preſent conduct towards this country, is an aggregate of ruinous miſchief, tending to hazard the ſacred connection between the ſiſter-kingdoms; and by ſplendid impoſition to play on the imbecility of this

this nation, ſo far as an endeavour to perſuade us, that when we ſhould be quitting the path of Freedom for ever, that we were advancing into ſome nobler road of public Felicity.

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